

A Speech without Doors, which would be spoken within Doors, if the Author had the Honour to be a Member of this House of Commons, and therein to Offer his Sense of the Bill for the more *Effectual Encouragement of the Manufactures of England, and Setting the Poor at Work.*

Mr. Speaker,

WE have had several Papers deliver'd at the Door, in relation to this Bill; but I don't understand the Reasonings of Traders. I can't govern my self by them, I Suspect them as much as any Man in this House doth. We need no other Proof that there is no Depending upon what they Assert than, that the several Traders Argue upon this Bill so very Differently, and according to their respective Interests, speak hardly one of another, and Endeavour all to Impose upon us.

But tho' I can't Depend upon what they say, I must own I am Affected with every Boding I have, every Warning I meet with, where our Publick Credit is Concern'd. And I will own too that I am the more Affected with it *at this time*, not only by reason of our Foreign Circumstances, but also because we have an *Excellent Queen*, who, by Her Education, and the Principles She hath imbibed, is sincerely Affectionate to the *Church of England, as by Law Established.*

For this I Honour her. For this all who Love the Church are bound to Support her. And for this every Good Man ought to be Cautious of every thing that may bring Difficulties upon her Administration, of every thing that Destroyeth, or so much as seemeth to Destroy, the Publick Credit; for Measures that do, Laws that do Destroy it, will Certainly, will Infallibly, more than any thing else, Startle the *Lending* part of the Nation.

Mr. Speaker,

To come to the Point. It is known to us all that both the *East-India* Companies have, when the Government was under the greatest Straits, furnisht it with vast Sums. The *Old East-India* Company had a Patent, and indeed I think I may say at least some Countenance from this House; and therefore they Lent their Money. But the *New East-India* Company had yet more. They were (I had almost said) drawn in by an Act of Parliament. I beg Pardon for that Expression of *being drawn in*, but it floated in my Mind; because it cannot be suppos'd that they would have paid down so much Money for a Trade, if they had thought it would have been afterwards taken away by piece-meal. And yet after they thought they were to be Authorized by that Act

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solely to Import all the Commodities that had been formerly brought from those parts, in favour to the Weavers, an Act was made to Prohibit the Use of all Silks and Stuffs Manufactured, and all Callicoets printed in the *Indies*.

The taking away that Branch of the Trade was all that the Weavers then said they would ever attempt, scarce seem'd consistent with the Terms upon which the Money was Borrowed, and hath proved an unspeakable Damage to the Men concern'd in that Trade; all this ought to be Considered at this time; for a Nation that either is, or is likely to be engag'd in a War with its Neighbours, ought to preserve their publick Credit entirely sacred and absolutely unsuspected.

But besides all this, let not our Thoughts dwell merely upon Wooll. Perhaps whilst they do, we reason too like well-meaning Country Gentlemen. I would not have us Consider how the World is alter'd in respect of Land Forces. That is not the Business of an Island, which can Navally provide for its Safety; but I fear, whilst we are from time to time Loading and Prohibiting Trade (of which Impositions the Consumer, the Gentleman, pays the greatest part) we are *Legislatively* pulling down the very Natural Walls and Fortifications of our Country. If our home Consumption of our own Manufactures is what we too *principally* regard, we shall insensibly make our selves less Considerable in Shipping; for it is a sort of unbounded Circulation of Traffick, that Builds, Repairs, Encreaseth, and Manns the Naval Bullwarks of our Country.

Mr. Speaker.

A farther Consideration doth also weigh with me. I have considered who of our Neighbours are like to Gain by the Prohibition design'd by this Bill. I am far from being an Enemy to them *at this time*; but I think we ought always to take care that the *Dutch*, (who are our Competitors, both in Naval Force and Trade) should not reap by our Mistakes any unfit Advantages.

As for our own People, there are but very few Towns of any Note which are concern'd in the thin and *unweighty* Woollen Stuffs, which are design'd to succeed the printed Callicoets.

But the *Dutch* imitate all those Commodities we have already prohibited from being consum'd here, and we give exceedingly more for them than the same sort of Goods cost us when we brought them from the *Indies*; and this will in time be felt in the Ballance of Trade. And though at present it may be proper for us to keep well with the *Dutch*, yet it is dangerous to let them be enrich'd by our Spoils.

But I will not enlarge upon this Head. Truths of this sort are not to be spoken, because they will not by some Men be born. We are fond of that People almost to a Frenzy. They have a Party sufficiently strong amongst us, I don't wonder they have a Party amongst our Weavers; because the very same Men (as I think I am well-informed) who solicited the Act for prohibiting *East-India* Manufactures; have set up, in imitation thereof, another Manufacture in *Holland*.

But let us proceed to another Consideration: and that is, Whether we don't endanger our whole Trade to those Parts, by making it so little worth our while to send Ships to the *East-Indies*; and whether, by suppressing so great Branches thereof, we don't give Encouragement
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and Opportunity to the *Scotch* (of whom we have hitherto been so jealous) to run away with the Trading Colonies which we, by great Industry and Expence, have settled on the other side of the World. I say, to the *Scotch*, who, if they grow Rich, may come to give Law, and spread their Religion over this whole *Island*. They will grow Rich. They may Under sell us. They will run away with the Trade. For, whereas we pay 40 per Cent. for all the Goods we Import from the *Indies*, The *Scotch*-Nation for these many Years to come are to remain Custom-free. We cannot use for Traffick any Ships but what are built within our Kingdom. They may at One Third part of that Expence furnish themselves with Shipping which are built in *Norman*, or any where else where the Materials cost little, and the Workmanship less than with us.

I might enumerate several other Advantages they have over us in carrying on this Trade; but I am not about to express any Animosity towards that Nation, I am only desirous to lay a few hints of Caution before this House.

I have almost done; for, after I have gone upon the Heads that I have mentioned, I think I ought to overlook the little-particular-hardships whereby the several Traders have endeavoured to stir us up to Compassion.

In a word, Mr. *Speaker*, for the sake of publick Credit, till the Acts for erecting the *East India* Company are expired, I can't be for any Bill of this sort: And yet I have nothing to do my self with Trade or either of those Companies. Upon the account of our Shipping, I must be against Prohibitions and Loading of Trade; and, for the sake of the same Naval Force, I shall be jealous lest the *Dutch* should run away with our Trade; and likewise that the *Dutch* should particularly supply us with their own Manufactures at far greater Prices and for the same uses we put *Indian* Goods to. For all these Reasons, Mr. *Speaker*, I am against this Bill at this time.

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SPEECH

Concerning The

Manufactury-BILL, &c.